

643 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of
669 purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of
the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a
leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he
would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed
at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there
frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in
the royal family. The conflict between the person who
formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or
because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the
other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities
is frequently already present at a succession to the throne.
Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power
that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in
that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining
his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the
fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows
here is taken from an important
unpublished note concerning
the history of the government
of Celebes and the dependencies
from the pen of the retired
Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F.
Eerdmans, who died shortly
before the Japanese invasion.
Other quotations from the
same note, following below,
will be indicated by "Eerdmans."
It is hoped, that it will still
be possible to publish the part
of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

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"From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Maçassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeke), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

- 175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been re-instituted in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at
beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way
of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as
possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among
one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained
in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference
among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-
Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each
kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each
family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of
battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals
strive for more power within the territorially limited
opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always
faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each
other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

602 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities,
634 even though in this position they merely carried out the com-
662 mands of the karaëng.
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The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

● 175 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get
648 the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

- 175 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the
648 Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government
of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out
by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power
center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and
which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N. E. I. Company was attacked whenever its position
was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in
Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from
the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters
changed (1). The N. E. I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. E. g., in the conflict
between the Queen of Bone,
Bataritodja, and Governor
Smout, around 1730. "The
impudent conduct of
Bataritodja was primarily
caused by the decrease of
our troop strength at
Macassar. There was urgent
need for military reinforce-
ments on Java"; see
Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit
of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated
opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions.
Whenever the N. E. I. Company was attacked, it always found
support from those who did not like to see an increase in the
attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the
whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the
Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the
boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were
fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to
as much as possible.

● 175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the
Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the
government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to
conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it
supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened
in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without
the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this
state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in
Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described
as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight.
Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also
to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong
residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is
explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby
only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus
the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the
direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous
similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk
a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he
tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such
a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman
of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power
groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the
ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal
qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests
outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an
otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too
much against him.

● 175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements.
It became apparent that they were not safe before the
administration officials if someone had registered a complaint
about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization
must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose be-
tween submission to the rules of the new order, which the
government upheld, and resistance against this same govern-
ment.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw
gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access
until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having
been forced completely into the defensive and having been
labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end
of men like daeng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around
1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

175 1. "In the second quarter of
177 the year mentioned (1915),
579 the number of robberies
565 increased disquietingly through
the appearance of a number
of notorious gang leaders in
the former province of Goa.
Among these leaders there
belong Tolo and his dreaded
lieutenants, Basareng, Baso
Patjiro Daeng Mapata,
(constituting part of the Goa
royal family) Radjamang.

● 175 /131 cont./

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Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

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They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

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1. Through a series of special

● 175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daeng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related
group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possess-
ing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind,
he was endowed with those personal qualities which the
Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities
creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which
the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the
pressure from outside. After the formation of the new
federated state, there developed in the ministries at
Macassar a silent struggle between the various population
groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese --
for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the
Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament
that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in
western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations,
tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be
directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again
resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who
were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese
view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the
highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary,
since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions,
was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was con-
ceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social
standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of
siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

- 175 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3,
648 third part.
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led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[587] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6 ●
Java OE1
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1

[243 cont.]

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x779 such as Padjang-Mataram, Tjirebon, Kediri, Semarang, and others. Of all these kingdoms, Mataram, which became independent around the year 1580, became the most powerful and before long the most important in all Java.

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174 It is fairly certain that missions on behalf of Islam were also
175 undertaken to the Moluccas from Toeban. According to the
797 Portuguese historian Barros, the Moluccas, too, had come under the influence of Islam some 80 years before the arrival of the Portuguese there (1512). Valentijn relates that the prince of Ternate imported it into his land in 1510.

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175 In the kingdom of Goa the prince was converted to Moham-
797 medanism in the beginning of the seventeenth century; his example was speedily followed by the Makassarese and the Buginese; in Macassar in 1540 the Portuguese had found only a few foreigners who were Mohammedans.

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77 At present, the number of Mohammedans in the Netherlands
161 East Indies is about 40 million. The lion's share of them is on Java, and, keeping the few exceptions in mind, it can be called a Mohammedan country.

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77 The same can be said of the greater part of Sumatra. An
161 exception is the Batak country, where the majority of the population (about 200,000) was converted to the Christian religion, while only a small minority is still heathen.

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77 On the whole, the Dajak [Dyak] on Borneo are animists;
161 [244] only the colonists who came from other places and who live in the coastal regions are followers of Islam.

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x779 The propagandists on behalf of Islam are still people of the same categories as formerly. In addition, however, today there is direct propagation of this religion, and there is quite definitely a polemic being carried on against other religions, in particular against Christianity.

The Government of the Netherlands East Indies also did its share, especially in the Outer Provinces, in advancing the cause of this religion by appointing followers of Islam as officials in non-Islamic districts. Among them, the Mohammedan teachers were frequently assiduous propagandists. Later the Government was more cautious in this respect.

Amban OH4
Halmahera OH12
Makassar OG6

I [302 cont.]

X779 lasting success (1).

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1. B.J.J. Visser, Onder Portugeesche vlag,
de katholieke Missie van Indonesië (1511-
1605), pp. 9 ff.

The two methods the Portuguese used, as we have already mentioned, were preaching and the use of force.

The man who did most to spread the Christian religion during the time the Portuguese were in control of the Moluccas was the Jesuit, Francis Xavier. After having been in various other places, especially Goa, he arrived in Malacca in 1545. There he set himself the task of learning the Malayan language. Three months later he thought he knew enough and set out for the Moluccas, where in Hitoe on the island of Ambon, in Ternate, and in Moro (Halmahera) he preached with great success. The method he used is not known, but in all probability it was the same as the one he used in Goa. With a bell in his hand he went through the streets and collected a crowd of people, whom he then invited to become Christians. He tried as best he could to express the Ten Commandments, the Creed, with an exposition of the articles of faith, the general confession of sin, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria in the Malayan tongue and so moved the people that they allowed themselves to be baptized (2).

2. Ibid., p. 41.

He did not stay very long in the Indies. In 1549 he left the Moluccas and, arriving in Malacca, found a number of priests there whom he set to work in the field he had just left.

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Around 1540 the Portuguese brought Christianity to Celebes where two Makassarese princes, who had been baptized on Ternate, wished to persuade their relatives to follow their example. In 1588 the Prince of Batjan was converted to Christianity.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368
[623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaeng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622
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In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaeng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaeng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346]
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We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallasrang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e., literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaeng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632
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Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 1750
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●175 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
565 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

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793 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
838 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
231 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
881 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
304 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
574 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

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182 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
771 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

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181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia OBI
Makassar OG 6
Celebes OG 1

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land."

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier.

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer.

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere.

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea.

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that

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000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaya. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java.
743 She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampung. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6 •
Loinang OG5

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/134 cont./

Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiërs and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

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20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

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In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Bae, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Bae in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/, " T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boëginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boëginese retinue remained behind; the Boëginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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